

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XLIV.

The New Gospel.

At a conference of radically inclined miners, it was decided to send Collins as their representative to the coming convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. Due to the agitation continually carried on by socialists and industrialists within the union, and also to the failure of the recent strikes to attain anything like adequate results, there seemed to be a strong sentiment among the rank and file for a different, and more effective, form of organization. It was this sentiment that Collins and his co-workers were trying to ripen into a movement for industrial unionism. Sincerely believing, that if all the crafts in the metaliferous industries would be so organized as to act as a unit, in any dispute with their masters, that then, they would have sufficient power to enforce their demands at any and all times.

Needless to say, this idea did not meet with the approbation of the mine owners, who left no stone unturned to counteract this tendency among the workers. But strong as their counter propaganda of the mine owners was, it was scarcely more formidable than the opposition that arose from the petty officialdom attached to the crafts with in the federation. These men considered themselves as graduated out of the ranks of labor; they constituted a group economically interested in preserving the status quo of the unions, to which they belonged. With rare exceptions, this officialdom, thru out all organized labor may be fitly called "the brake on the wheel of progress." At this time, as ever they rivalled the Industrial Barons in their acrimonious assault upon the preachers of the new gospel of Industrial Solidarity. What Bill Haywood, after his release, was wont to say concerning the souls of detectives, might even at this time be applied to a goodly number of these "hangers on" of the working class.

In spite of opposition from within and without, the sentiment for industrial organization was growing apace, and the leaders of the radical agitation, their vision colored by their hopes and their ambitions, predicted for it a speedy and complete triumph. They forgot however, that they themselves were what we have called "black sheep," that is, they reacted differently than does the mass with which they worked. A whirlwind may tear a few shingles off a roof but it does not blow away the house, even so, had the strike of 1903, shaken the frame work of the Western federation, but

it had not been sufficient to radicalize the thought processes of the average worker. It had not been enough to cause him to take and fight, for a more radical stand. The trials thru which he had passed, had changed his sentiments, but not his convictions. It was the sentiment mistaken for conviction that misled the radicals in the movement, into a believe that a substantial number of the membership were really of their own mind.

To the radical mind, industrial form of organization was the only senseable way out of the wilderness of exploitation and oppression. To the Masters

industrial organization was synonymous with riot, anarchism and death. To the conservative worker—well he hears his master's voice first, in fact, that voice seems to be the motive power of the slave mind. For in this instance, as in many others, when the Masters protested, the bulk of the slaves left their radical tendencies and did as they were bidden.

From this it must not be inferred that they took direct orders from some one to change their mind; that would be a mistake. The American slave has deep seated delusions of freedom. The Masters know this too well ever to command him directly to alter his views if they can find another way out. When ever the worker has stampeded a little in the direction of truth, they do not as a rule tell him to close his eyes to the vision and return to his cave, to do that might

Dividing Up vs. Communistic Production.

By N. Bucharin.

We already know that the root of the evil of wars of conquest, of the oppression of the working-class, of all the savagery of capitalism, consists in the fact that the world has been farmed out by a few bourgeois cliques organized in the form of national governments, who administer as their own property all the good things of the earth. The property interest of the capitalistic-class in the means of production—that is the "first cause" which will explain to us all the barbarism of present-day society. To take away from the rich their power by taking from them their wealth—that is the first task which the working class and the workers' party the Communist Party, have set themselves.

Some may think that that which has been taken away from the wealthy should be, in a "God-like," just, and equal manner, divided among all, and that then all will be well. Each, according to this attitude, would have only just as much as everyone else; all would be equal, and all would be free from inequality, oppression, exploitation. Everyone will look after his own interests, having everything at his disposition, and the power of man over man will disappear by reason of this equal division, general redistribution, and allotment of wealth among the poor.

But the Communist Party does not view things this way. It holds that such an equal distribution would not be of any good or lead anywhere else than to confusion and to a re-establishment of the old regime.

And such is the case. In the first place, there are a lot of things that simply cannot be distributed. For instance, what would we do with the railroads? Suppose one should undertake to pull up the sleepers, another, the steel rails; a third,